

COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECT



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BLACK AND WHITE IN BOSTON

A report based on the Community Research Project

UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES OF METROPOLITAN BOSTON

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made possible by a grant  
from the  
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FOREWORD

## THE COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECT

The Community Research Project encompasses three related studies:

1. A study of the total population in metropolitan Boston, sponsored by United Community Services (UCS).
2. A study of the Jewish population, sponsored by the Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP).
3. A study of the aged population, sponsored by the United States Public Health Service (PHS).

The Research Process

A probability cross-section sample of each population was drawn using careful scientific sampling methods. As a result, the characteristics of those in the samples can be assumed representative of the total populations from which they were drawn, within the limits of normal sample variability. The methods of sampling and measures of sampling error are explained in greater detail in Appendix A.

Over fifty interviewers were trained to carry out the field work. Their skill and persistence yielded over 1,300 interviews for the UCS sample, nearly 1,600 interviews for the CJP sample, and over 1,300 interviews for the PHS sample.

The data from these interviews were then carefully coded, punched onto cards and transferred to magnetic tape for analysis.

### Measurements

The interview schedules were almost identical for the three studies so that the three sets of data could be compared. Some major foci of the studies were:

1. Descriptive characteristics, such as age, sex, income, education, ethnicity and religious affiliation;
2. Geographic mobility;
3. Existing needs, such as economic, health, social, recreational and counseling needs;
4. Knowledge of and use of available services and programs to help people with various needs;
5. Community participation in the life of the community, for example, clubs, organizations and churches;
6. Charitable giving.

### Analysis of the UCS Data

The UCS data are being analyzed by the staff of the UCS Research Department with consultation from Dr. Morris Axelrod, Director of the Community Research Project and from Dr. Floyd J. Fowler, Jr., Assistant Director of the Community Research Project. This analysis is being partially supported by a two-year grant from the Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund.

A series of reports dealing with the above topics are scheduled to be prepared through 1968. These reports should provide relevant data for those involved in health and welfare planning in the Boston area. This paper is one in that series.

The Negro/White Sample

The sample includes 1,340 households within the Boston metropolitan area. The table below shows the racial composition of these households:

THE COMMUNITY RESEARCH PROJECT HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE FOR RACE

<u>Race</u>	<u>Households</u>	
	<u>Total Boston Metropolitan Area</u>	<u>Boston City Area</u>
White	1,250	274
Negro	67	54
Other non-white	2	1
Not ascertained	21	3
	<u>1,340</u>	<u>332</u>

Since the non-white, non-Negro segment and the segment for which race was not ascertained constitute an insignificant number within the sample, both were excluded from this particular analysis.



## INTRODUCTION

At the center of national concern is the Negro revolution. What began quietly in the 1950's as planned, peaceful demonstrations for integration at public accommodations mushroomed in the 1960's into the spontaneous destruction of property and human life in urban ghettos. The disturbances which began spottily in the cities of the Deep South have spread in wave-like motion and magnitude to many metropolitan centers across the nation. In the wake of these eruptions, some Americans are reminded of and confronted with the inequalities and disparities between the white American and the Negro American.

In 1940, only ten per cent of the American Negro population lived outside the states of the Deep South. By 1960, the proportion had risen to 40 per cent or to over nine million people. Of these, 60 per cent were concentrated in the nation's twelve largest cities.<sup>1</sup>

In every city, white residents and civic leaders are concerned about the physical deterioration of neighborhoods inhabited by Negroes; about the rising adult crime and juvenile delinquency rates in Negro neighborhoods that spill over into the rest of the city, making parks and sometimes even the streets unsafe; about the tensions unleashed by suits to force school desegregation, and the fiscal strain of building classrooms fast enough to hold the mushrooming enrollments in Negro areas, and the difficulty of hiring teachers to teach in these schools; about the burden of

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<sup>1</sup>Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, p. 7.

welfare payments and the horror they feel as they watch second- and third-generation relief recipients grow up without even knowing, or even seeing, what it means to be self supporting. And in every city, Negro residents are bitter about the high rents they have to pay for rundown and shamefully neglected tenements in segregated sections of the city; about the discrimination by business and trade unions alike that bar them from skilled crafts and white-collar jobs; about the overcrowding and lack of standards in the schools their children attend; about the snubs and hurts and humiliations--big and small, real and imagined--that are their daily lot; about the general indifference to their plight. There is no large city, in short, which does not have a large and potentially explosive Negro problem.<sup>2</sup>

The number of Negro residents in Boston has been relatively smaller than in most other large metropolitan areas. But the 1940's marked the beginning of substantial growth in the Boston Negro population. By 1960, the 1940 figure of 23,500 Negro residents had nearly tripled to over 63,000 residents or nine per cent of the total core city population.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the growth trend in Boston paralleled the growth of the Negro population as a whole in the nation's large metropolitan areas.

The focus of this study is the Negro in Boston--to describe, compare and contrast the Negro and white populations. Population, household composition, socio-economic status, housing conditions and migration patterns will be discussed. These areas are crucial points of consideration for health and welfare planners who are seeking a better understanding of the status of the Negro in Boston.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.34-35.

<sup>3</sup> Robert M. Coard, "Historical Background of the Negro Community in Boston," in The Negro in Boston, p.11.

## SECTION I: POPULATION

The pattern of population change in Boston, like other major metropolitan areas in the United States, consists of a declining core city population within an expanding suburban population.

Between 1950 and 1960, the total Boston metropolitan population increased by nine per cent.<sup>1</sup> Within this over-all increase, the white population increased by eight per cent while the Negro population increased by 72 per cent.

Within this same decade, the Boston City population declined by 13 per cent. In 1950, the total number of city residents was 800,590. By 1960, however, the number of residents had declined to 697,938.

This decrease in the Boston City population occurred within the white segments of the population. While the Negro represented five per cent of the 1950 Boston City population, by 1960 he represented nine per cent of the total. Obversely, the white population declined from 95 per cent of the total in 1950 to 91 per cent in 1960.

These trends for the Boston metropolitan and the Boston City areas seem to have continued through 1965. The Massachusetts Decennial Census reported that in 1965, the number of Boston metropolitan

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<sup>1</sup>The figures used here for 1950 and 1960 were abstracted from U.S. Bureau of the Census Reports. U.S. Census of Population, 1950. Detailed Characteristics, Massachusetts. Final Report P-C21, Table 53, and U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Detailed Characteristics, Massachusetts. Final Report PC(1)-23D Table 96.

residents rose to 2,605,452 while the number of Boston City residents declined to 616,326.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1 presents the Negro and white population distributions within the Boston metropolitan and Boston City areas as obtained from the CRP survey of 1965. While the Negroes represented five per cent of the total metropolitan population, they represented 17 per cent of the Boston City population. Thus, one-sixth of the Boston City population was Negro in 1965.

This proportion represents a substantial increase in the Negro population since 1960. The reliability of this figure, however, is subject to normal sampling variability which, in this case, may be approximately plus or minus three per cent. There is, in addition, supportive evidence that this estimate is reasonable: the substantial increases in the non-white school population, the decline of the total population and the growth of the Negro population in other cities and the possible under-reporting of Negroes in the U.S. Census Bureau data.

In addition to the different Negro/white population changes, there were differences in the distribution of the Negro/white populations in the Boston area (Table 2). While four-fifths of the white population within Greater Boston resided outside the city itself, four-fifths of the Negro population lived within the city of Boston.

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<sup>2</sup> Secretary of the Commonwealth, The Decennial Census, 1965. Population and Legal Voters of Massachusetts, Table 3 and Table 12.

The city of Boston was divided into four major areas (See map below). These four areas were chosen on the basis of geographical contiguity and relative population homogeneity: West City is composed of Brighton, Back Bay and West End; North City of East Boston, North End, South Boston and Charlestown; Center City of South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester; South City of Jamaica Plain, Roslindale, West Roxbury, Hyde Park and South Dorchester.

## The Major Areas of Boston City



While the white population was fairly evenly distributed throughout each of these areas of Boston, nine-tenths of the Boston City Negroes lived within the Center City area (Table 3). Thus, not only was the Negro concentrated in Boston City, he was also markedly concentrated within one area of the city.

A summary picture of the Negro population distribution within the Boston metropolitan area in 1965 would therefore have appeared as three concentric circles, each decreasing in size while increasing in the ratio of Negroes to whites within it.

Because the Negro population was primarily concentrated within the city, this study focuses upon comparisons of the Negro/white populations within the city of Boston. Essentially, however, this means that Boston City whites, who represent a minority of whites in the greater metropolitan area, are compared with Boston City Negroes, who represent the majority of all Negroes in the metropolitan area. Although using the Boston City area makes the two populations more comparable, it also understates some differences between all whites and all Negroes in the Boston metropolitan area.

TABLE 1RACE FOR TOTAL BOSTON METROPOLITAN AREA AND BOSTON CITY AREA POPULATIONS

<u>Race</u>	<u>Total Boston Metropolitan Area Population</u>	<u>Boston City Area Population</u>
White	95%	83%
Negro	5	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(N=4,530) (N=1,004)

TABLE 2AREA OF RESIDENCE OF THE BOSTON METROPOLITAN HOUSEHOLDS BY RACE

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Metropolitan Boston, Non-city	78%	20%
Boston City	22	80
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(N=1,250) (N=67)

TABLE 3

AREA OF RESIDENCE OF THE BOSTON CITY POPULATION BY RACE

<u>Residence</u>	Race	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
South City	36%	2%
Center City	25	89
North City	19	*
West City	20	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

(N=274)

(N=54)

### SECTION III: NEGRO AND WHITE FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS

The family is the economic, psychological and social entity which forms the basis of our society. As a unit of active interdependent participants, it performs a variety of maintenance, socialization and supportive functions for the welfare of each member and for its own preservation.

Descriptive characteristics, when compared to minimum standards of economic, social and psychological well-being, provide some indication of the functional capacity of both the family and its members. Thus, data on household units are basic to a variety of planning issues and considerations.

The two divisions of this section--Household Composition and Socio-economic Status--compare Negro and white individuals and family members.

The term "family" traditionally refers to two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption. In the CRP survey, the "household" refers to all persons living together in one dwelling unit. The household, although usually a family in the traditional sense, may be a single person who comprises his own family or it may be any number of unrelated individuals living together.

For some of the analysis, the one-person households were excluded from the sample so that descriptions could be based on the family unit as it is traditionally defined. For example, with respect to

analysis of family income, all one-person families were eliminated and with regard to analysis of the number of minors in the household, the one-person families of single, never-married persons were excluded.

#### Household Composition

There are several factors included in this section--the marital status of household head, the sex of head, the number of minors within a household and age distribution. These provide several dimensions for a better understanding of the household and family unit.

Families in which death, divorce or separation has removed the head of the household are most likely to have experienced emotional and perhaps financial stress, as well as shifts in psychological and maintenance roles of members within them. A household headed by a female suggests that either the woman has to work to support herself and her family or that she must depend upon other relatives or outside resources. Either alternative has consequences for the children within the family. The number of people in the household and the ages of the household members provide some indication of the variety of needs which the members must meet and fulfill.

A look at the marital status of the Negro and white populations provides some separation of individuals from families. While those who were single are individuals, those who were married represent two-person families which may or may not include children, other family members or unrelated individuals. Those who were either widowed, divorced or separated may represent either single-person families or families which include other family or non-related persons.

Table 4 shows marital status for the Negro and white heads of households in Boston City. Approximately 60 per cent of both the Negro and white household heads were married. While the proportion of whites who were single (16 per cent) was more than double the comparable proportion for Negroes (7 per cent), the proportion of Negroes who were divorced or separated (19 per cent) was more than double the proportion for whites (7 per cent).

If the widowed heads of households are included with those who were divorced or separated, approximately one-fifth of the white and one-third of the Negro households had, at one time, experienced the loss of a household head. Actually, the number of people in this category was higher since among the married there are those who have at one time been divorced or widowed.

A comparison of sex of household head<sup>1</sup> by race shows that the proportion of Negro household heads who were female was higher than for white family heads (Table 5).

A look at the number of minors in the household shows some differences in household size by race (Table 6). The proportion of households with no minors or with one minor is the same (62 per cent) for both Negroes and whites. However, while the proportion of white households containing two or three minors was higher than for Negroes, the Negro households were more likely to have four or more minors within them than were the white households.

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<sup>1</sup>The data used in the analysis of the sex of household head and the number of minors in the household does not include one-person families of single, never-married persons.

A look at the age composition of the total population by race shows that approximately three-fifths of both the Negro and white populations were between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four (Table 7). There were, however, some significant differences between the races within the younger and the elderly segments of the population.

Twenty-eight per cent of the white population compared to 40 per cent of the Negro population was under fifteen years of age. The Negro population thus contained a significantly higher proportion of the segment of the population which is heavily dependent upon others for its support, both from the family and from outside institutions, and which will potentially have the greatest impact upon the growth of the population.

In contrast, however, the proportion of whites 65 years of age or over (12 per cent) was more than double the comparable proportion of Negroes (5 per cent). The decline in the white population within the city perhaps represents the out-migration of younger families and individuals leaving a comparatively older white population. Thus, the white population contained a substantially higher proportion of the elderly who tend to have specialized problems in the areas of health and maintenance.

### Socio-economic Status

The socio-economic status of an individual is determined by a variety of factors, some intangible, others more easily definable. Three of these factors--education, occupation and income--are often used as indicators of socio-economic status.

In combination and along with other factors, such as race, religion, and ethnic background, these factors determine and define an individual's boundaries of choice and flexibility within the American economic structure. Education influences not only the type of work one can pursue, but also influences one's chances of getting ahead within an occupational niche. In turn, the type of occupation one has substantially sets the limits of one's income. These factors not only play a role in determining individual status, but also in determining the style of life a family can maintain or pursue.

An examination of educational attainment by race (Table 8) shows that while more than one-half of the white heads of households completed 12 grades of school or more, only two-fifths of the Negro household heads completed these same levels of education. This represents a substantial difference in educational attainment---a factor which largely determines both occupation and subsequent income.

Table 9 indicates that while four-fifths of both the Negro and white male heads were employed, the unemployment rate for Negroes was five per cent and only two per cent for whites. Although the numbers in the sample subgroups were small, the indicated differences are consistent with other available data.

As might be expected, the proportion of female household heads who were employed was smaller in comparison to males (Table 10). This is consistent with the home-oriented role of women in the family. However, this suggests that a substantial proportion of female headed households rely primarily upon other family or outside resources for maintenance.

The occupation breakdown of Negro and white household heads who were in the labor force shows some significant differences between these two groups (Table 11). While 32 per cent of the white heads were employed as professionals or managers, only 13 per cent of the Negro heads were similarly employed. At the other end of the occupational scale, 61 per cent of the Negro heads were employed as operatives, household and service workers or laborers, compared with 39 per cent for white heads.

One might consequently assume that the higher proportion of Negro heads with low educational attainment and the higher proportion of Negro heads in what might be termed semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, would result in lower incomes for Negro household heads.

The data regarding income of household heads shows that this is generally the case, though not as dramatically as might be expected (Table 12). Approximately three-fifths of both white and Negro heads earned between \$3,000 and \$7,499 per year. The proportion of Negroes earning under \$3,000 per year was somewhat higher than whites earning the same amount and the proportion of whites earning \$7,500 or more was nearly three times as high as for Negroes. These differences would have perhaps been altered if income had been controlled by age

since the white population contained a higher proportion of the elderly (in comparison to Negroes) who tend to have lower incomes than other age groups.

Larger differences were found, however, when the total family income was considered (Table 13). Although three-fourths of the Negro families had total incomes under \$6,000, only one-half of the white families had incomes below this same line. Approximately one-half of the white families and one-fourth of the Negro families earned total incomes of \$6,000 or more per year. In light of previous data which indicated that Negro households tended to have a larger number of minors, this means that the per capita allotment was lower for Negroes than for whites.

Analysis which seeks an in-depth causational understanding of these differences between the races is beyond the capacity and scope of the data presented here. But within the confines of these three job-oriented factors--education, occupation and income--it is possible to examine the relationship of any two controlling on the third.

Among the Negroes and whites who have the same education, were there any differences between the groups with respect to occupation? And the co-relative question is whether or not Negroes and whites who had similar occupations also had similar incomes.

In order to pursue these questions, the number of Negroes in the subgroups became quite small. This may have resulted in statistically unreliable figures. It seems justifiable to do this to identify any major trends which may exist.

Three categories of occupation--white collar, skilled and semi-skilled, and unskilled--were used. The "white collar worker" is the professional, the manager, the sales and clerical personnel; the "skilled and semi-skilled" include craftsmen, foremen and operatives; the "unskilled" refers to household workers and laborers.

A comparison of occupation by education for race indicated that education and race were related to the job category which Negroes and whites occupied (Table 14).

For those who had completed less than 12 years of school, differences between the races were not substantial. Over four-fifths of both Negroes and whites were employed as skilled and semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

For those with 12 or more years of school completed, however, the Negro was less likely to have a white collar position and more likely to be employed as an unskilled worker than his white counterpart. Thus, for those Negro household heads who had a high school diploma or better, race, as well as education, contributed to determining the occupational position they would fill.

How occupation influences income is shown in Table 15. Controlling for occupation shows that race was an important factor. While three-fifths of the Negro household heads who were employed in white collar, skilled and semi-skilled positions earned under \$6,000 per year, three-fifths of their white counterparts earned \$6,000 or more per year.

With regard to unskilled employment, the Negro household head

was much more likely to earn less than \$6,000 per year than a white household head similarly employed.

It should be emphasized that the number of Negro cases in several of the categories is very small. No one of these comparisons taken alone would be reliable. However, the fact that for each group the trend is the same makes it more tenable that the observed relationships are real and stable.

Differences in income between the races are also shown by comparing median family incomes. While the median white family income was \$5,867, the Negro family's median income was \$4,470. Thus, the Negro family's spending power was lower than the white's and even lower per family member.

Controlling for education to compare occupational levels and controlling for occupation to compare incomes does not account for other factors, both objective and subjective, which might also have influenced occupational status or even educational attainment. Training, attitude, self-perception and many other factors are among the undetermined and the unaccounted for and are beyond the scope of this study.

The data, however, have provided some indication that, within comparable levels of education, Negroes were not filling the same job categories and that, within comparable levels of occupation, Negroes were not attaining the same levels of income as whites were.

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Single	16%	7%
Married	62	59
Widowed	15	15
Divorced or separated	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%

(N=273)

(N=54)

TABLE 5

SEX OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE

<u>Sex of Head</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Male	79%	72%
Female	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%

(N=229)

(N=50)

TABLE 6NUMBER OF MINORS IN BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLDS BY RACE

<u>Number of Minors</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
None	45%	44%
One	17	18
Two	18	10
Three	12	8
Four or more	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%

(N=234)

(N=50)

TABLE 7AGE COMPOSITION OF BOSTON CITY POPULATION BY RACE

<u>Age Composition</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
5 and under	13%	16%
6-14	15	24
15-19	7	5
20-39	25	25
40-64	28	25
65 and over	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

(N=812)

(N=170)

TABLE 8

EDUCATION OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE

<u>Education</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
1 - 8 grades	27%	36%
9 - 11 grades	17	26
High school graduate	23	19
High school graduate with technical training	11	6
1 - 4 years of college	18	13
Advanced degree	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>*</u> 100%

\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=627) (N=53)

TABLE 9

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BOSTON CITY MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE

<u>Employment Status</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Working	79%	79%
Unemployed	2	5
Retired	17	16
Student	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>*</u> 100%

\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=203) (N=38)

TABLE 10


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 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BOSTON CITY FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE
 

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<u>Employment Status</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Working	36%	43%
Unemployed	3	*
Retired	23	19
Student	1	*
Housewife	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>38</u> 100%

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\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=71) (N=16)

TABLE 11


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 OCCUPATION OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LABOR FORCE BY RACE
 

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<u>Type of Occupation</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Professional, managerial	32%	13%
Clerical, sales	14	13
Craftsmen, foremen	15	13
Operatives	20	38
Household and service workers, laborers	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%

---

(N=200) (N=39)

TABLE 12

INCOME OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY RACE

<u>Income</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Under \$3,000	24%	32%
\$3,000 - \$4,999	23	22
\$5,000 - \$7,499	39	41
\$7,500 - \$9,999	9	5
\$10,000 or more	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>*</u> 100%

\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=222) (N=41)

TABLE 13

FAMILY INCOME OF BOSTON CITY HOUSEHOLDS BY RACE

<u>Family Income</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Under \$3,000	17%	30%
\$3,000 - \$4,999	20	27
\$5,000 - \$5,999	15	18
\$6,000 - \$7,499	21	9
\$7,500 - \$9,999	15	14
\$10,000 or more	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%

(N=233) (N=44)

TABLE 14

## OCCUPATION OF HEAD BY EDUCATION OF HEAD FOR BOSTON CITY NEGRO AND WHITE HOUSEHOLDS

Occupation	Number of School Years Completed		12 or more	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Less than 12				
White collar	19%	10%	58%	37%
Skilled and semi-skilled	52	66	29	38
Unskilled	<u>29</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>25</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(N=70) (N=21) (N=119) (N=16)

TABLE 15

## TOTAL FAMILY INCOME BY OCCUPATION OF HEAD FOR BOSTON CITY NEGRO AND WHITE FAMILIES

Total Family Income	Occupation											
	White Collar		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled		Not in Labor Force		White		Negro	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Less than \$3,000	5%	*	1%	18%	21%	33%	52%	70%				
\$3,000 - \$5,999	26	63	37	41	40	56	42	30				
\$6,000 - \$9,999	43	37	53	41	30	*	6	*				
\$10,000 or more	<u>26</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>				
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>				

\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=74) (N=8) (N=67) (N=17) (N=33) (N=9) (N=53) (N=10)

### SECTION III: HOUSING CONDITIONS

A dwelling unit is more than a protective covering. It is also an environment in which a variety of biological, psychological and social needs are met. It is a milieu in which most family interaction occurs and in which intra-family relationships develop. It is, for a child, the primary environment in which protection, care and support are provided and received. As with all environments, the dwelling unit may either be helpful or detrimental to the well-being of those whom it encompasses.

The size, quality and location of the dwelling unit which a person inhabits, like socio-economic characteristics, provide some indication of both the status and the style of life an individual or a family can pursue. Not only does the large, suburban home suggest that the family occupying it enjoys a relatively high standard of living, but also that its members probably function within a wide range of educational, economic and social choices. In contrast, the family which inhabits a small, fourth floor tenement is more likely to represent a minimal standard of living and to be functioning within a restricted range of possibilities.

Ideally, the choice of housing is influenced by and based upon factors of individual and family needs. Some of these include the size of the family, accessible public transportation, job location and social or recreational activities. Along with needs, there are personal preferences in housing, including architectural style, room-

arrangement, the kind of neighborhood and surroundings, even the quality of the schools in the community.

However, there are other factors which also contribute or determine the choice of housing and which often restrict the possibilities of meeting both individual and family housing needs and preferences. Among these are financial resources, availability of housing and access to available housing.

Assuming that within the city of Boston, a variety of housing is available to both whites and Negroes, the focus of this section is the kinds and condition of housing which Negroes and whites occupy within the existing range of economic and geographical housing choices.

Traditionally, public housing has been provided for low and moderate income families to make low cost housing units available to those who could not afford housing in the private market or for those who could not allot more than a small proportion of their budgets for housing.

Table 16 shows the proportions of Negroes and whites who were living in Boston City public housing. Although there was one Negro for every five whites in the Boston City population, there were approximately two Negroes for every three whites occupying public housing units. Thus, Negroes were over-represented in public housing in comparison to the proportion of the population which they represented.

Whether the dwelling unit was owned or rented is shown by race in Table 17. Negroes were much less likely to own their homes and more likely to rent when compared with whites.

However, these differences seem to have been more a function of family income than of race (Table 18). Approximately equal proportions of whites and Negroes owned their homes in both the lower income bracket (family income less than \$5,000) and the upper income bracket (family income \$5,000 or more).<sup>1</sup>

When the quality of the housing unit<sup>2</sup> is compared by race (Table 19), the proportion of Negroes who were living in dilapidated housing was more than four times as large as that of whites living in housing of comparable condition. While the largest groups of both Negroes and whites lived in housing judged as being generally sound, Negro housing overall tended to be of a considerably lower standard than that of whites.

Controlling for income partially eliminates this difference by race (Table 20). However, for families with incomes of \$5,000 or more, this difference was greater, with Negroes being much more likely than whites to have lived in dilapidated or deteriorating housing. In addition, for those families with incomes under \$5,000, whites were much more likely than Negroes to have their houses judged as being in excellent condition.

Table 21 shows monthly rental for Negroes and whites with comparable family incomes. The data show that Negroes and whites with comparable incomes paid comparable amounts of money for rent. Although Negroes and whites were allotting approximately the same

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<sup>1</sup>The term "family" in this section refers to both one-person households (which are a small segment of the total sample) and multi-person households.

<sup>2</sup>The quality of the housing unit was judged by the interviewer.

amounts of money for rent per month, however, a much larger proportion of Negro housing was judged as being dilapidated or deteriorating in comparison to the housing of whites. Thus, they were getting less for their money than whites within comparable levels of family income.

TABLE 16

WHETHER BOSTON CITY RESIDENT LIVED IN PUBLIC HOUSING BY RACE

<u>Whether in Public Housing</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Yes	5%	18%
No	<u>95%</u> 100%	<u>82%</u> 100%
	(N=270)	(N=51)

TABLE 17

WHETHER BOSTON CITY HOME WAS RENTED OR OWNED BY RACE

<u>Whether Home Owned or Rented</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Owned	30%	19%
Rented	68%	81%
Other	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>*</u> 100%
* Less than 0.5 per cent	(N=274)	(N=54)

TABLE 18

WHETHER HOME OWNED OR RENTED BY RACE FOR BOSTON CITY FAMILIES  
WITH INCOMES LESS THAN \$5,000 AND \$5,000 OR MORE

<u>Whether Home Owned or Rented</u>	Family Income <u>Less than \$5,000</u>		Family Income <u>\$5,000 or More</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Owned	15%	12%	34%	37%
Rented	80	88	64	63
Other	<u>5</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>2</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100%</u>

\* Less than 0.5  
per cent

TABLE 19

INTERVIEWER JUDGMENT OF QUALITY OF HOUSING FOR BOSTON CITY  
BY RACE

<u>Quality of Housing</u>	Race	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Dilapidated	5%	23%
Deteriorating	19	19
Generally sound	56	46
Excellent	<u>20</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>12</u> <u>100%</u>

(N=266) (N=52)

TABLE 20

INTERVIEWER JUDGMENT OF QUALITY OF HOUSING BY RACE FOR BOSTON CITY FAMILIES  
WITH INCOMES LESS THAN \$5,000 AND \$5,000 OR MORE

<u>Quality of Housing</u>	Family Income Less than \$5,000		Family Income \$5,000 or More	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Dilapidated or deteriorating	33%	44%	15%	31%
Generally sound	53	52	64	48
Excellent	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%
	(N=85)	(N=25)	(N=142)	(N=19)

TABLE 21

RENT PAID PER MONTH BY RACE FOR BOSTON CITY FAMILIES WITH INCOMES  
LESS THAN \$5,000 and \$5,000 OR MORE

<u>Rent per Month</u>	Family Income Less than \$5,000		Family Income \$5,000 or More	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Less than \$80	58%	64%	27%	32%
\$80 - \$149	21	24	35	32
\$150 or more	1	*	2	*
Inapplicable (owns home or other)	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%

\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=87) (N=25) (N=146) (N=19)

Negro migration into Boston was dominated by in-migration from the South.<sup>2</sup>

This change of residence pattern, however, is not the same as the pattern indicated for short-term residents (Table 24). Approximately equal proportions of both whites and Negroes had moved into their present home from within the same community or from another Boston City or metropolitan community. In addition, the proportion of Negro short-term residents who had moved into their present home from the South, although significant, was substantially lower in comparison to that of the Negro long-term resident.

The data suggest two trends: first, that the pattern of residence change for the Negro is becoming more intra-city in nature, and second that the in-migration of Negroes from the South may perhaps be diminishing. The impact of in-migration would therefore be lessening in relation to other factors of population growth, such as fertility and mortality rates and the out-migration of whites.

Regardless of this indication, however, the significance of Negro in-migration from the South cannot be overlooked (Table 25). While 20 per cent of the total Negro population was born in the Boston metropolitan area, 55 per cent was born in a Southern state. Thus, the Negro migration from the South perhaps has as significant an influence and meaning on the Negro's life situation as the substantial immigration of white ethnic groups into Boston earlier in the 1900's.

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<sup>2</sup>The Southern states include Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

TABLE 22

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 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CURRENT HOME FOR BOSTON CITY  
 RESIDENTS BY RACE
 

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<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Up to 5 years	45%	57%
5 up to 15 years	31	31
15 years or more	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%

(N=272)

(N=54)

TABLE 23

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 PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE FOR LONG-TERM BOSTON CITY RESIDENTS  
 BY RACE
 

---

<u>Previous Place of Residence</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Same community	33%	22%
Other Boston City or metropolitan community	41	35
Other Massachusetts	7	*
New England, non-Massachusetts	3	4
South	*	26
Other U.S.	7	*
Non-U.S.	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

(N=151)

(N=23)

TABLE 24

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 PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE FOR SHORT-TERM BOSTON CITY RESIDENTS  
 BY RACE
 

---

<u>Previous Place of Residence</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Same community	26%	26%
Other Boston City or metropolitan community	37	39
Other Massachusetts	9	3
New England, non-Massachusetts	6	6
South	2	16
Other U.S.	10	10
Non-U.S.	<u>10</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>*</u> <u>100%</u>

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\* Less than 0.5 per cent (N=123) (N=31)

TABLE 25

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 WHERE BOSTON CITY RESIDENTS WERE BORN BY RACE
 

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<u>Where Born</u>	<u>Race</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Boston metropolitan area	55%	19%
Other Massachusetts	7	4
New England, non-Massachusetts	4	2
South	2	53
Other U.S.	8	15
Non-U.S.	<u>24</u> <u>100%</u>	<u>7</u> <u>100%</u>

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(N=274)

(N=54)

#### SECTION V: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Factual data is a way of sensitizing relevant groups to the existence and the nature of problems so that they can address themselves and others to their solution and amelioration.

The timeliness and relevancy of this study is evident. To date, the Boston community has had a relatively small Negro population and but scattered, symptomatic eruptions in the ghettos. It is thus in a position to choose between constructive planning as it can evolve from community consciousness and commitment or stop-gap actions which are a response to internal unrest and violence.

It is important to keep in mind that the data do not present any causal relationships. The existence of a situation or a fact does not necessarily prove or suggest a cause or any multiplicity of causes. Nor is it always important to ascertain the cause of a given situation. Rather, the existence of a situation is, by itself, a significant finding.

It is also important to understand that the relevancy of the data, perhaps of the study itself, is not in any one percentage, not in any one finding. What is important, however, is that this study provides indications that the life of the Negro and that of the white in the city of Boston differs significantly in several aspects.

Below is a summary review of these differences.

Population:

1. Against the backdrop of a swelling Boston metropolitan population and a declining total city population, the Negro/white ratio within Boston City appears to have changed significantly between 1950 and 1965. While in 1950, the Negro represented 5 per cent of the total population, by 1960, he represented 9 per cent and by 1965, the Negro represented 17 per cent of the total city population.
2. The findings showed that four-fifths of the Negro metropolitan population resided within the Boston City limits and that nine-tenths of these were concentrated in what was designated as Center City (South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester).

Household Composition:

1. The majority of both Negro and white household heads were married. However, while one-fourth of the white household heads were either separated, divorced or widowed, one-third of the Negro household heads fell into these categories.
2. Negro households were somewhat more likely than white households to be headed by a female.
3. With regard to the number of minors in the household, whites living in the city tended to have smaller families (2 or 3 minors) while Negroes were much more likely to have larger families (4 or more minors).
4. The white population contained a substantially higher proportion of elderly people, while the Negro population contained a significantly higher proportion of children under the age of fifteen.

Socio-economic Characteristics--Education, Occupation and Income:

1. The differences in educational attainment between Negroes and whites were substantial. While a majority of whites had at least graduated from high school, only two-fifths of the Negroes had completed 12 grades of school.
2. Differences in occupation occurred at the extremes of occupational categories. While the proportion of white household heads who were employed as professionals

or managers was two and one-half times as high as for Negroes, the proportion of Negroes employed as operatives, household and service workers or laborers was one and one-half times as high as for whites in comparable categories.

3. In light of the above findings with regard to educational attainment and occupation, the differences between the incomes of white and Negro household heads were not as dramatic as would have been expected. Differences occurred, however, when comparisons were made based on total family income. While one-half of the white families accrued total incomes less than \$6,000, three-quarters of Negro family incomes fell below this line.
4. Differences between the occupational levels of the two groups remained even when the factor of educational attainment was held constant. While education seemed to play the dominant role in determining the occupation of both Negro and white household heads, for those with 12 or more years of school completed, the Negro was less likely to have a white collar position and more likely to be employed as an unskilled worker than his white counterpart.
5. Differences between Negro and white incomes for household heads were indicated even when occupation was held constant. While three-fifths of the Negroes employed as white collar, skilled or semi-skilled workers earned less than \$6,000 per year, three-fifths of his white counterparts earned more than \$6,000 per year. In the unskilled occupational categories, the Negro was much more likely to earn less than \$6,000 than the white household head similarly employed.

#### Housing Conditions:

1. While there was one Negro for every five whites in the total population, there were approximately two Negroes for every three whites occupying public housing units. The Negro was over-represented in public housing in comparison to the proportion of the population which he represented.
2. Although there is an indication that Negro families were less likely to own their own homes and more likely to rent when compared to white families, this seemed more a function of income than of the factor of race.
3. The proportion of Negro families which were living in dilapidated or deteriorating housing was almost twice as large as that for white families. Comparisons of housing condition with income held constant partially, but not completely, eliminated these differences.

4. Negro and white families paid comparable amounts of money for rent per month. However, in light of the indication that Negro dwellings were judged as being in worse condition, Negroes were receiving lower quality housing for their rental money than white families were.

Migration Patterns:

1. While the majority of whites had lived in their present home for five years or more, the majority of Negroes had moved into their current home within the past five years. This suggests that Negroes seemed to have been somewhat more mobile than whites.
2. A division of the populations into short-term residents and long-term residents showed some differences in the change of residence patterns by race. For long-term residents, Negroes were less likely than whites to have moved into their present home from the same community or from another Boston City or metropolitan community. In comparison, approximately equal proportions of both white and Negro short-term residents had moved into their community from within these same areas. This indicates that perhaps the pattern of residence change for the Negro was becoming more intra-city and intra-metropolitan in nature.
3. The in-migration of Negroes from the South into Boston has been substantial. While 20 per cent of the total Negro population was born in the Boston metropolitan area, 55 per cent was born in a Southern state. Thus, the Negro population of today, the majority of which was perhaps born in a Southern, rural setting, is somewhat comparable to the Boston white population earlier in the century, which was composed of large immigrant ethnic groups.

APPENDIX AMETHODS OF SAMPLING AND MEASURES OF SAMPLING ERROR

In studies of large populations, it is impractical to interview all of the people within the total population to be studied. Consequently, statistical procedures are used for the selection of a sample that will still represent the characteristics of the total population. This is accomplished by using a random probability sample which assures that each unit within the total population has an equal chance of being selected for the sample and that inferences made about the total population are reliable.

Since the sample does not include every case in the population, the characteristics of the sample only approximate those of the total population. However, it is possible to mathematically determine the range within which the true value of the characteristic almost certainly lies,<sup>1</sup> that is, the value that would result if the sample were the total population. The upper and lower limits of this range can be determined by computing the sampling error.

The sampling error varies with the size of the sample and the proportion to be considered. Table A, which is a table of sampling errors, takes both of these factors into account. The sampling error

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<sup>1</sup>Although the degree of certainty can vary, the usual criterion is the .05 level of significance, which means that 95 times out of 100, the resultant value is correct. This criterion is used for all of the examples presented in this appendix.

varies somewhat for the different findings of the study. Despite these differences, however, the table can be used to give a general picture of the degree of variability that should be attached to the specific percentages in the text.

TABLE A

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS  
FOR THE BLACK AND WHITE IN BOSTON STUDY, 1968\*

Sampling Errors for  
Reported Percentages Around:

<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>10 or 90%</u>	<u>30 or 70%</u>	<u>50%</u>
25	12	18	20
50	09	13	14
100	06	09	10
300	03	05	06

\* The reliability of these figures is computed at the .05 level of significance which means that 95 times out of 100, the true value in the total population lies within the range of values.

For example, from Table 4 in the Section on Household Composition (Page 18), we can see that 7 per cent of the white household heads and 19 per cent of the Negro household heads were separated or divorced. These proportions are based on sample sub-group sizes of 273 households for whites and 54 households for Negroes. The sampling error for the white proportion of 7 per cent is plus or minus 3 percentage points, which means that between 4 and 10 per cent of the white household heads

in the total population were separated or divorced. The sampling error for the Negro proportion of 19 per cent is plus or minus 11 percentage points, indicating that between 8 and 30 per cent of the Negro household heads in the total population were separated or divorced.

It is also important to know whether or not a difference between two percentages obtained from the sample is "statistically significant." In Table 25 in the Section on Migration Patterns (Page 36), we see that 55 per cent of the white Boston City residents and 19 per cent of the Negro Boston City residents were born in the Boston metropolitan area. This is a difference of 36 percentage points. Is this a statistically significant finding? What is the likelihood that a difference this large could occur by chance?

The percentage point difference required for statistical significance can be computed by using a mathematical formula which takes into account the exact size of the sample sub-groups and the proportions under consideration. Table B was constructed (using this formula) to indicate the differences required for some of the sample sub-group sizes and the range of possible proportions found in this report. It therefore can be used as a guideline for determining the statistical significance of comparative analysis between Negroes and whites.

Returning to our example, we can see that the sample sub-group size for whites is 274 and for Negroes, is 54. From the table below, we see that the proportions under consideration (55 per cent for whites and 19 per cent for Negroes) require between 12 and 15 percentage points difference between them to be significant. Since there is a 36 percentage

point difference between these two proportions, the finding is considered to be statistically significant.

TABLE B

SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES FOR THE BLACK AND WHITE IN BOSTON STUDY, 1968\*

Differences required for significance in comparisons of percentages with sample sizes of:

<u>For proportions around:</u>	<u>274/54</u>	<u>233/44</u>	<u>85/25</u>
10% or 90%	09	10	14
20% or 80%	12	13	18
30% or 70%	14	15	21
40% or 60%	15	15	22
50%	15	16	23

\* The reliability of these figures is computed at the .05 level of significance which means that 95 times out of 100, the proportions being compared are statistically significant for the indicated sampling error of difference.

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